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Introduction

blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranafwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*filliatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen's* house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurikawin*: black 764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much 152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *amulpellun*, during which the riders hurl invectives at the forces of evil who 783 are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *füllatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn* (encirclement).

764 574 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *moñetun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the unencumbered transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute ones, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an unmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

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lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of those persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*wenpin*). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance by witchcraft rebound on himself.

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I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the *kalgem* afterworld. It is also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an inevitable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

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Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death. If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

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*This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under consideration. It tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully established wife-giving group. It's therefore have a reallocation of social obligations by marriages and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the collusion [illegible] of the resulting effect this among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with social congregations, to the extent that this occurs, balances both social and marital relationships, by leading to a greater social standing and trust, which makes for more successful transaction mediated by the shared order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the wekufe. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related others are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the cooperation of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

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Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offense of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sanctioned marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually [783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *fillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *fillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *fillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *fillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with